

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 036

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

USMISSION USUN

USMISSION NATO

EUCOM

CINCUSAFE

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR PINT TU CY GR

SUBJ: ECEVIT STATEMENT ON FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF TURKISH
INTERVENTION IN CYPRUS

SUMMARY: JULY 20 ANNIVERSARY OF TURKISH LANDINGS IN CYPRUS
WAS MARKED BY STATEMENTS BY PRIMIN DEMIREL, TURKISH
GENERAL STAFF CHIEF GEN. SANCAR, AND OPPOSITION LEADER ECEVIT.
WHILE FIRST TWO REITERATED WELL-KNOWN POLICY, ECEVIT'S
STATEMENT -- ISSUED IN WRITTEN FORM AT PRESS CONFERENCE --
PRODUCED SEVERAL ITEMS OF INTEREST. ECEVIT CRITICIZED DEMIREL
GOVERNMENT FOR "INACTIVE POLICY" REGARDING CYPRUS SETTLEMENT,
URGING THAT IF "A CERTAIN ACTION ON OUR PART IS IN OUR OWN INTEREST
...WE SHOULD TAKE SUCH ACTION, IN DISREGARD OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE
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U.S. CONGRESS." HE STRONGLY ATTACKED U.S. ARMS EMBARGO AND

MADE BRIEF CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENT'S "SOFT LINE" IN RESPONDING TO EMBARGO . END SUMMARY.

1. THE FOLLOWING ARE QUOTATIONS AND SUMMARIES OF SIGNIFICANT PORTIONS OF ECEVIT'S STATEMENT:

A. THE ARMS EMBARGO.

"THE U.S. CONGRESS DECISION AGAINST TURKEY HAS CERTAINLY NOT HELPED MATTERS. THIS DECISION HAS INVOLVED THE U.S.A. UP TO HER NECK IN THE CYPRUS ISSUE, WITH THE FOLLOWING VISIBLE CONSEQUENCES:

THE USA CAN NO LONGER HOPE TO MAKE ANY POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS A SOLUTION IN CYPRUS.

SUCH DIRECT U.S. INVOLVEMENT HAS SPEEDED UP A PROCESS WHICH THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION PARTICULARLY WANTED TO AVOID -- THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE.

THE GREEK ATTITUDE HAS HARDENED.

IT HAS BECOME PSYCHOLOGICALLY MORE DIFFICULT FOR TURKEY TO MAKE MOVES.

AFTER A SPELL OF IMPROVEMENT LAST YEAR, TURKISH-U.S. RELATIONS BEGAN TO DETERIORATE AGAIN; AND YET THIS DETERIORATION DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT MUCH OF AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE FEELINGS OF THE GREEKS TOWARDS THE USA.

THE SOUTH-EASTERN FLANK OF NATO HAS BEEN PARALYZED. "THE CONGRESS' DECISION AND ATTITUDE MAY HAVE STILL OTHER CONSEQUENCES WHICH ARE NOT YET SO VISIBLE.

"WHEN I SAY THAT THE U.S. CONGRESS DECISION HAS MADE IT PSYCHOLOGICALLY MORE DIFFICULT FOR TURKEY TO MAKE MOVES TOWARDS AN EARLY SOLUTION, I DO NOT MEAN TO USE THIS PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFICULTY AS AN EXCUSE FOR REFRAINING FROM MAKING THE MOVES THAT OBJECTIVELY UNCLASSIFIED

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SHOULD BE MADE. THERE IS NO REASON WHY THE IRRESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE OF OTHERS SHOULD MAKE US IRRESPONSIBLE AS WELL. AFTER ALL, CYPRUS IS A MORE IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR US THAN FOR THE U.S.A. OUR SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD IMPOSE UPON US THE NECESSITY OF SURMOUNTING THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFICULTY CREATED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS DECISION. IF WE BELIEVE THAT A CERTAIN ACTION ON OUR PART IS IN OUR OWN INTEREST, IN THE INTEREST OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS AND OF CYPRUS AS A WHOLE, WE SHOULD UNDERTAKE SUCH ACTION, IN

DISREGARD OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. CONGRESS.

"I AM NOT MAKING THIS SUGGESTION BECAUSE OF THE AMENDMENT THAT IS NOW PROPOSED TO THE EMBARGO DECISION. ALTHOUGH WE SHOULD ALL APPRECIATE THE EXTRAORDINARY EFFORTS THAT PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY OF STATE DR. KISSINGER HAVE BEEN EXERTING TO CHANGE THE ATTITUDES OF SOME MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS AND ALTHOUGH WE SHOULD REGARD THESE EFFORTS AS A SIGN OF THE VALUE THAT THE PRESENT U.S. ADMINISTRATION ATTACHES TO CONTINUED FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH TURKEY, I MUST REGRETFULLY STATE THAT THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT, IF PUT INTO EFFECT IN ITS PRESENT FORM, WILL ONLY AGGRAVATE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFICULTY THAT HAS BEEN CREATED FOR TURKEY AND DO GREATER HARM TO TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS, BECAUSE THIS AMENDMENT ENTAILS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT CONTROL SYSTEM OVER TURKEY THAT WILL HARDLY BE COMPATIBLE WITH OUR CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENCE, I CANNOT IMAGINE A TURKISH GOVERNMENT EXPRESSING SATISFACTION WITH AND AGREEING TO SUCH A FORMULA.

" I AM RECOMMENDING CONCRETE STEPS TOWARDS A SOLUTION FOR THE CYPRUS ISSUE, IN SPITE OF, RATHER THAN BECAUSE OF, THE PROSPECTS OF THIS NEW DEVELOPMENT IN THE USA. I AM IN FAVOR OF A MORE ACTIVE POLICY TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOLUTION SIMPLY BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT SUSPENDING OR FREEZING THE ISSUE FOR TOO LONG WOULD RENDER A SOLUTION INCREASINGLY MORE DIFFICULT, WOULD AGGRAVATE TENSION BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE AS WELL AS BETWEEN THE TURKS AND GREEKS OF CYPRUS AND WOULD POSTPONE INDEFINITELY THE NORMALIZATION OF LIFE FOR BOTH COMMUNITIES ON THE ISLAND."

B. ON MOVING TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT.

"IN MY VIEW, A SOLUTION BASED ON SO-CALLED CONCESSIONS
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WOULD BE AN UNHEALTHY ONE. THE FORMULA FOR A HEALTHY AND VIABLE SOLUTION TO ANY INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM SHOULD BE BASED ON THE RECONCILIATION OF THE LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES.

" I THINK THAT THERE IS A SUFFICIENT MARGIN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EXISTING SITUATION IN CYPRUS FOR BOTH SIDES TO TAKE CERTAIN STEPS THAT WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE RECONCILIATION OF THE LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF BOTH. IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT THE EFFORTS EXERTED SO FAR FOR SUCH A RECONCILIATION HAVE BEEN VERY INADEQUATE. THIS IS UNFORTUNATE BECAUSE, AS SUCH EFFORTS ARE DELAYED AND THE PROBLEM REMAINS SUSPENDED AND UNRESOLVED FOR TOO LONG, THE FEELINGS AND HOSTILITIES OF BOTH SIDES TEND TO HARDEN AND THE MARGIN FOR CONCILIATORY STEPS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EXISTING SITUATION TENDS TO DIMINISH. THEREFORE, THE CYPRUS PROBLEM MAY BECOME MORE DIFFICULT TO SOLVE AS TIME PASSES."

.."ACTION DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN CONCESSION. THERE SHOULD BE ACTION IN SEARCH OF A SOLUTION-- A SOLUTION THAT WILL ENSURE PERMANENT PEACE IN CYPRUS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPLETE EQUALITY OF THE TWO NATIONAL COMMUNITIES AND OF THEIR RIGHTS TO A FREE AND PROSPEROUS LIFE. SOME OF THE DETAILS MAY BE DIFFICULT TO AGREE UPON, BUT A REAL BEGINNING SHOULD BE MADE IN SEARCH OF SUCH A SOLUTION. SUSPENDING THE PROBLEM MEANS KEEPING THE DAILY LIVES AND THE FUTURES OF THE INDIVIDUALS ON THE ISLAND IN SUSPENSION. YET WE ARE NOT PLAYING WITH PAWNS ON A CHESS-BOARD-- BOTH THE TURKISH AND GREEK NATIONS HAVE THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS THE HUMAN BEINGS WHO INHABIT AN ISLAND WHICH IS DEAR TO US BOTH. BOTH NATIONS SHOULD URGE THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE MORE RAPID AND TANGIBLE EFFORTS TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOLUTION AND TO EXHIBIT GREATER POLITICAL COURAGE TO THIS END."

.."I DO NOT APPROVE OF THE INACTIVE POLICY OF THE PRESENT TURKISH GOVERNMENT VIS-A-VIS CYPRUS...DOING NOTHING ABOUT AN URGENT PROBLEM CANNOT BE PRESENTED AS FOLLOWING A HARDLINE IN WHICH CONCESSIONS ARE SHUNTED."

C. TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY IN ERA OF DETENTE.

"FOREIGN POLICIES BASED ON RIGID IDEOLOGICAL STANDS OR ON MEMORIES OF OLD CAMARADERIE ARE NO LONGER VALID EVEN IN UNCLASSIFIED

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RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN A GIVEN ALLIANCE...

"A VERY DRAMATIC EVENT RECENTLY HAS BEEN THE MEETING AND THE COOPERATION OF THE SOVIET AND U.S. SCIENTISTS OVER OUR

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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EUCOM
CONCUSAFE
AMCONSUL ADANA
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HEADS, IN SPACE. WE HAVE ALL WATCHED ON TELEVISION THE WARM
EMBRACES DURING WHICH THEY EXCHANGED WRITTEN INFORMATION AND
DATA WHICH, I AM SURE, ARE A SECRET TO MOST (PERHAPS ALL) OF THE
RESPECTIVE ALLIES OF BOTH THE USA AND THE USSR.

"WE DO NOT NEED TO LOOK UP AT THE SKIES TO OBSERVE SUCH
INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS. THEY OCCURE ON EARTH AS WELL...WHO,
IN TURKEY, KNOWS EXACTLY WHAT HAS BEEN TALKED ABOUT CONCERNING
TURKEY AND TURKEY'S FUTURE IN VLADIVOSTOK LAST YEAR BETWEEN THE
LEADERS OF THE USA AND THE USSR?

"A WORLD IN WHICH THERE IS GREATER PROXIMITY AND EXCHANGE
OF INFORMATION AND JOINT DECISION-MAKING BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF
OPPOSING BLOCS THAN AMONG THE MEMBERS OF EACH BLOC IS OBVIOUSLY
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A NEW WORLD WITH NEW CONDITIONS, RULES AND RELATIONSHIPS.

" DOES IT NOT SEEM RATHER STRANGE TO BE TRYING TO CAJOLE
MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS IN SUCH A DRAMATICALLY CHANGED
WORLD, BY REMINDING THEM OF OUR SERVICES AND HEROISM IN KOREA
A QUARTER OF A CENTRUY AGO WHEN AMERICA WAS WAGING A HOT WAR
AGAINST COMMUNISM THERE?

"THESE ARE NOT THE ONLY CHANGES IN THE WORLD TODAY...WE
HAVE REACHED A PERIOD IN WHICH AMERICA, AS A SUPER-POWER,
FEELS RATHER POWERLESS AND FRUSTRATED IN SOME WAYS BEFORE THE
INCREASING UNITY AND COOPERATION OF SOME OF THE SMALL OR

UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.

"I BELIEVE ALL THESE ARE CHANGES FOR THE BETTER WHICH PROMISE A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR MANKIND, FOR ALL, NOT PART OF, MANKIND, AND WHICH PROMISE A MUCH MORE STABLE PEACE THAN EVER BEFORE."

ECEVIT CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT TURKEY OCCUPIED A UNIQUE ROLE AS A MIDDLE EASTERN AND AS A BALKAN COUNTRY WHICH WAS AT THE SAME TIME EUROPEAN BY ITS "LINKS AND ASSOCIATIONS". CONSEQUENTLY TURKEY "SHOULD HAVE NO REASON TO BE AWESTRUCK AT THE PROSPECT OF BEING DESERTED BY SOME OF HER ALLIES OR AT BEING DENIED THE RIGHT OF FREELY BUYING ARMAMENTS WITH HER OWN MONEY FROM ONE OF HER ALLIES".

D. THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY.

ECEVIT BRIEFLY CRITICIZED THE "EXCESSIVELY SOFT-LINE" POLICY OF DEMIREL IN RESPONDING TO THE ARMS EMBARGO, THE EEC DECISION TO ACCEPT THE GREEK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF CYPRUS, MAKARIOS AS THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF CYPRUS AT THE CSCE FINALE IN HELSINKI, AND "GOING SUBMISSIVELY TO COURT, INSTEAD OF FIRST EXERTING TURKEY'S LEGITIMATE RIGHTS ON THE AEGEAN SEABED".

2. COMPLETE ENGLISH TEXT (AS PROVIDED BY THE RPP) IS BEING POUCHES TO THE DEPARTMENT, NICOSIA AND ATHENS.
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